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National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
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NATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD ON "FOREIGN ASPECTS OF U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY"

Seldom, if ever, has such an array of distinguished speakers appeared on the same program in the U.S.A. as the political, business, labor, educational, scientific and religious leaders who addressed a national Conference sparked by the initiative of President Eisenhower in Washington on February 25. The purpose was to interpret and promote an understanding of the need for mutual aid in immediate legislation and in long-term plans. The speakers included: President Eisenhower; former President Truman; Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson; Vice-President Richard Nixon; Secretary of State John Foster Dulles; Secretary of Defense Neil H. McElroy; Director of Central Intelligence Agency Allen W. Dulles; Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., Special Assistant to the President; Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, President, National Council of Churches; Rabbi Theodore Adams, President, Synagogue Council of America; Bishop Fulton J. Sheen; and others. It was voted to establish a continuing Committee for International Economic Growth, with Eric Johnston, who headed the National Conference, to be the Chairman.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER ON "WAGING PEACE" WITH AID AND TRADE

President Eisenhower, reporting that the U.S.A. would likely spend more than 200 billion dollars in the next 5 years for military strength, said, "But these sums, great as they are, cannot produce a single constructive, useful thing for human beings." "In the last analysis, we have positive security only through positive peace.... A positive peace is one brought about by active work to create the living conditions, the level of education and health, the mutual understanding, and the sense of common purpose that make possible the genuine everyday substance of living in harmony with our neighbors.... Having provided, with the cooperation of our friends, for safety against military assault, we face only a bleak future of indefinite support of huge armaments unless we get on with the constructive work of peace."

"....Our technical and economic aid is now concentrated heavily in the newly developed countries of Asia and Africa. Throughout large parts of these continents, vast reserves of human energy are opening up in a way that has not happened for centuries.... Over a large part of this area, the average individual has 20 cents a day to live on." "Economic aid is designed to bridge the two great gaps that stand in the path of most of the newly developing countries: Lack of trained manpower and lack of capital."

"My friends, if we are to find the world we seek, we must catch the vision of the neighborhood of the world. When we have done this, all such measures as mutual security will seem as natural and logical--or necessary to our own good--as our activities for community prosperity, health and education seem now."

"Under current conditions, the urgency of both our mutual security and our reciprocal trade agreements legislation leaves no margin for error.... They are iron imperatives of security and the building of true peace."

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- 7-8 - Fifth National Conference on International Economic and Social Development:
Gov. Freeman; Senators Case and Kennedy; Sir Leslie Munro; Dr. Keyserling;
Victor Reuther; Raymond Wilson.

ADLAI STEVENSON: WHAT KIND OF WORLD FOR OUR CHILDREN?

Mr. Adlai Stevenson challenged people to look at the future when our children and grandchildren will be sharing the planet with others.

"What kind of world will that be? Will it be dominated by new and bitter conflicts, rooted in bitter memories from a difficult colonial past, in memories of racial discrimination, in memories of painful difficulty faced alone during the awkward transition to modernization? Or will it be a world held together by bonds of common humanity, by memories of shared adventure during the period of transition, by a common respect for the dignity and stature of the individual human being, by a common will to maintain a regime of international order on this tiny planet?"

Mr. Stevenson emphasized that the primary problem concerns growth; that the threat of Communism is less military than it is economic, political and moral; that the need is in the critical areas of social and economic modernization. He advocated a 6-point program to promote economic and social health and self-reliance without military strings:

1. The Economic Development Fund should be put on a permanent basis, planning investments forward for some years in terms of total requirements of the receiving nation.
2. The Indian Five-Year-Plan should be supported on a long-term basis. It is twice the area of the Marshall Plan world and will need a sustained support to get over the hump.
3. Strong government leadership would be needed for basic development of roads, power, transportation, schools, etc., to enable private investment to continue development.
4. Our surpluses of food and fiber should be used not so much as charity but as working capital to enable other countries to advance in their economic development.
5. It is time for more co-ordination of our economic affairs with other countries instead of each going it alone. "This is a global enterprise and it should be organized on that basis."
6. We could invite the Soviet Union to co-ordinate their efforts with ours, if they are really interested in the economic independence of the less fortunate countries.

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE PLEADS FOR ECONOMIC AID DEFENSE

Significantly the Secretary of Defense, Neil H. McElroy, emphasized the need for the Mutual Security Program of economic aid, even as he reported on the military assistance program. He said that military aid is designed to provide us with "much more security at less cost than if we were to attempt to attain the same capability through our own resources alone." All-out nuclear warfare is made relatively remote by deterrent forces, he said, but this does not mean that Communism will abandon its objective. We can expect them to "intensify efforts in other fields, where the price of conflict would not be so high." Thus the Communists have increased activity in "economic penetration."

ERIC JOHNSTON: BUYING TIME FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM

Mr. Eric Johnston, Chairman of the Conference, in opening remarks said there are two aspects of the Mutual Security Program--the military and the economic. The American people understand and willingly support the military program, "but do all of us know that military strength is not enough? It resolves nothing. It is a negative force. What it does is to buy time for a positive, affirmative course to bring about conditions essential to peace."

Mr. Johnston emphasized "the economic aspects of mutual security are vital. They alone can provide stability...In this under-developed third world, economic growth and development is the primary concern... This area of economics will deserve our closest attention. It is our most difficult area. It is here that we really have so much to learn--and perhaps not so much time to learn it."

SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES CALLS FOR DEMONSTRATION OF A TRUER FAITH AND A DYNAMIC SPIRIT

Secretary of State Dulles said that, contrary to popular opinion, about 75% of the Mutual Security appropriations are spent in the United States, giving employment to about 600,000 Americans. The Mutual Security Program was described as assuring the U.S. the use of bases throughout the world which he said "are absolutely indispensable for our security." Then he went on to say "no base is of any value whatsoever if it is a base located in hostile territory or where the surrounding people are unfriendly."

Mr. Dulles said that the U.S.A. is the ultimate target of the Communists in their efforts to overcome capitalism, and intimated that this was being attempted by "economic strangulation" rather than by a military war. He referred to the tremendous expectations of the newly independent countries for a better economic life. "Unless something can be done about that within the free world, inevitably they will be caught in the trap of communism," resulting in "the ultimate undoing of the United States itself."

Speaking on the nature of the present challenge, Mr. Dulles said that the Communists' control has grown in 41 years to include one-third of the world's population. "That kind of thing emanates from a dynamic belief. And that kind of a challenge can only be met successfully by a counter-challenge, a counter-challenge of a faith... that is a greater and a truer faith.... We are never going to cope with this situation by defensive measures... There has got to be a dynamic spirit, and unless the specific things that we do are encompassed within that spirit, than I fear they will fail."

Secretary of State Dulles said that the concept of mission needed today by America is "dedication, not just to ourselves, not to our selfish welfare, but a dedication to bring the blessings of liberty to all men everywhere."

ALLEN DULLES: COMMUNIST SHIFT FROM MILITARY EMPHASIS TO THE ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE

Allen W. Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence, reported on the Soviet economic and trade offensive: "The evidence...indicates that the U.S.S.R., in striving toward their objectives, do not propose to use their military power in a manner which would involve the great risk of war...They probably estimate that if they can induce us to devote our resources almost exclusively to the military field, they can the more easily break our economic and cultural ties with other nations and win them over."

The Soviet trade and aid programs have had a significant impact, according to Allen Dulles. The total amount of credits and grants extended by the Sino-Soviet Bloc for economic development and military aid to countries in the Free World outside the Bloc over the last three years is the equivalent of about \$2 billion. In Afghanistan, Egypt, Syria, India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia, the Soviet programs in aggregate have been more than double those of the Free World over the past two-and-a-half years. Many other countries have been receiving attractive offers and many are today deciding whether to seek aid from the West or from the Soviet Bloc.

Mr. Dulles said that Americans should be considering whether we can afford to be second to the Soviet in supporting friends and allies, and in our relations with the uncommitted, newly-developing countries of the world. They see that Russia, which economically and industrially was a backward country a couple of decades ago, has become in a relatively short space of time "the second greatest industrial and military power of the world." They tend to feel that American economic standards are "too high--too distant--too hard for them to attain." "They hope that they can eventually aspire to something like the economic and industrial advancement of the Soviet Union."

"What use is it if we and our allies concentrate solely on building barriers against some future military attack, while the Soviet envoys of trade, aid and subversion get behind those barriers?"

DR. DAHLBERG SPEAKS OF MUTUAL AID: A PROBLEM OF "MASSIVE RECONCILIATION"

Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, President of the National Council of Churches, challenged the Conference to think of the moral foundations of the nuclear-space age. He said this is a completely new era of history and is a part of the on-going purpose of God, moving toward a goal that is bigger than any political, ecclesiastical or national interest. We can no longer think in terms of one nation, or one continent alone; we must think in terms of the universal. We are now not only one nation under God but one world under God.

Dr. Dahlberg said "those of us who are priests, ministers, and rabbis of religion ... appeal for other and better means of national survival than bombs, rocketry and missiles. We beg of you to apply the same bold, creative imagination to the non-military approaches to peace that you have already applied to military defense. The world is weary and disheartened by the continuing plans for massive retaliation. We yearn for someone to lead in plans for massive reconciliation, on a global scale, and look for the day which we believe to be at hand even now, when all of America's great wealth, resources, and power shall be dedicated to that end."

He advocated five guiding principles for an improved, expanded mutual aid program:

1. Economic development programs, including both technical cooperation and capital funds should be multiplied many times over.
2. The purpose of these programs should be set forth in unequivocal terms emphasizing not so much what we are against as what we stand for--in freedom, justice and peace.
3. Economic development programs should be separated as far as possible from military and political programs and considerations.
4. More of our mutual aid programs should be channeled through The United Nations.
5. All of these programs should be based on the principle of self-help, the benefitted nations assuming their own share of responsibility.

RABBI ADAMS: THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Rabbi Theodore L. Adams, President of the Synagogue Council of America, stressed the motivations for our foreign aid program. "We have observed that our Government seems to find it necessary constantly to reassure the American people that the major or sole reason for helping the nearly one billion people in Asia and Africa who are afflicted with the age-old scourges of poverty, disease, and ignorance, is our own self-interest, our foreign policy."

"As religionists, we feel profoundly that the utilitarian motive of benevolence is not worthy of the United States. The moral character and destiny of America compel the higher motives of compassion, of brotherhood, of respect for human personality."

Rabbi Adams reminded the conference that "the very existence of our nation in no small measure, is due to the outpouring of generous assistance we received from others..." We have a moral obligation to others. "...there is all too much evidence that measured against our precious ideals, what we are doing is not enough,--does not even begin to be enough. The reports we hear of the opportunistic Soviet Bloc's devious and sustained campaign of providing economic and military aid to backward nations, supposedly, without strings, puts the mettle of our idealism to the test more than ever in the past."

A nationwide program was advocated by Rabbi Adams, "on the part of the major religious agencies and other non-governmental movements to transmit incessantly and with maximum effectiveness to the people of our country the fundamental moral challenge of mutual security legislation."

BISHOP SHEEN: MORAL OBLIGATION OF FOREIGN AID

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, Auxiliary Roman Catholic Bishop of New York, reminded the Conference participants that "the earth and the fullness thereof were made by God for all the peoples of the earth and not for the privileged advantage of a few."

"In aiding underprivileged countries we are not to think of ourselves as superior because we are economically wealthier; or that those who are aided are inferior because economically poorer. There are several kinds of need. The underprivileged countries of the world need one thing; we need another.... Theirs is the burden of being underprivileged; ours is the burden of being overprivileged. It is their stomachs that are empty; it could be our hearts that are empty."

"The Soviets would have the world believe there is only hunger of the belly. Our great country which has risen to prosperity because it holds that God has endowed men with certain inalienable rights must recognize that 'not by bread alone doth man live.'"

FORMER PRESIDENT TRUMAN: BUYING PEACE AND HOPE FOR ALL MANKIND

Former President Harry S. Truman made a dramatic address in support of President Eisenhower's Mutual Security Program. He said "Year after year the weapons of war get more expensive and more destructive....The most we can hope to gain from them is a stalemate.... The only thing we can do with armaments is to buy time....What are we going to do with the precious time we buy with all the billions and billions we are pouring into arms?.... What are we going to do in these precious days that may be our last chance to keep mankind from being blown off the face of the earth? Are we to go on blindly with no hope, no plans for ending the armament race, no program for establishing a just peace in the world except to pile weapon upon weapon?"

Then Mr. Truman said, "That is not the answer. There must be a better way.... With God's help we shall find it."

"One of our best hopes is economic assistance for other nations.... The economic assistance portions (of the Mutual Security Program) are our effort to help create conditions among countless millions in many lands that will lead them to take the path of democracy rather than communism. It is among those countless millions that the battle for peace and justice in the world will be won or lost."

Mr. Truman referred to the rumors that some members of Congress were expecting to be economizing on the budget this year by voting to cut the funds for foreign economic aid. "If there is any money in the budget that holds out any hope for mankind, this is it; and we ought not to be talking about cutting it but about raising it--perhaps raising it substantially. (applause) This is the part that ought to be regarded as most sacred of all."

In reference to the criticism of the Mutual Security Program, Mr. Truman said, "Examine it all you please, correct all the mistakes you can, improve it every year, every day, eliminate waste and increase efficiency--but don't scuttle the boat just to stop the leaks."

"People will forgive us for spending too much in search for peace; they will never forgive us for refusing to spend enough."

"There won't be any lobbyists button-holing Congressmen and Senators to support this peace money. The special interests have nothing to gain and no axe to grind here. But there will be a silent plea from all the countless millions who yearn for peace in the world. Who is to speak for them? Is not their future worth something? Is not all mankind worth saving?"

DR. KILLIAN: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN FREE WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is now serving as special assistant to the President. He said that "Defense is only part of the nation's task; and that is a negative part.... The primary purpose of military aid.... is to create a framework within which free men and women can live their lives in security and develop societies in the light of the humane values to which they are committed...the military aid and support we give abroad to our allies can have the further constructive effect of freeing local resources for producing purposes; for many of our allies do not now have the economic capacity both to defend themselves and to expand their underdeveloped economies."

"...our leadership of the Free World would prove sterile if we were merely to offer to our friends and allies arms for defense without sharing in their constructive tasks and adventures."

Dr. Killian referred to some forty thousand young men and women from abroad who are now studying in America--sixty-five percent of whom come from the under-developed areas. "Unless these young people who come to us for education find adequate professional opportunities when they return home, the usefulness of their education will be greatly reduced. Unless the process of economic development within their countries gathers momentum along a broad front, these students may return home to find not a life of challenging service but a life of frustration dangerous to their interests and to ours."

"Science and technology can be put to work only when they are woven into the fabric of a society which is modernizing its political life, its educational institutions, its methods of administration and its outlook toward the whole economic process.... The economic aspects of our foreign aid program--and notably the new Development Loan Fund, are designed to supply that essential component."

VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON LEADS FORUM ON PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS

Vice-President Nixon led a forum group of government administrators of our economic assistance program and answered questions from the audience. Mr. Nixon said that our purpose is not to buy friends. He said that it is in the interest of the U.S. in newly developing countries to help economically so they will be strong enough to resist any foreign domination. He said that the economic conflict is now more dangerous to the U.S. than the military conflict. There needs to be long range planning to assist economic development, he said, and he expressed the opinion that he would like to see foreign economic aid increased more than the present requests. He stressed the preference for loans. In aiding other countries we are really aiding ourselves, he said, emphasizing that this is mutual aid.

ANSWERS TO CRITICISM ABOUT THE MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM

Reference was made to specific criticisms appearing in the press. The Director of the International Cooperation Administration, James H. Smith, Jr., reported that detailed answers were available for each major criticism. (These have since been published: "Responses to Questions Compiled by the House Foreign Affairs Committee Relating to Criticisms of the Mutual Security Program," March 12, 1958, available from the International Cooperation Administration, Washington, D.C.)

FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Fifth National Conference on International Economic and Social Development met on February 26, the day after the White House Conference. Participants included representatives of voluntary world organizations, government officials, and private individuals, all interested in world economic and social development, and therefore concerned especially with the constructive portions of the mutual security programs. Some highlights follow. For further information write: National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, 1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

GOVERNOR ORVILLE FREEMAN of Minnesota chaired the conference. He said that aid programs are the least understood and are therefore the hardest to support with legislation. The economic recession and problems in the U.S. today make the job more difficult. We need new efforts to inform our people. Government leaders cannot go too far out in front of what public opinion understands and supports.

SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE said that even if Communism disappeared from the world we would still need to help others. There is a long-term need and this requires a long range, planned program. Americans, he said, must show that a totalitarian approach is not needed for economic development.

SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY emphasized that India is trying to follow the path of freedom, in contrast with China which has taken the totalitarian course of economic development. It is in the interest of the U.S. to take the leadership in supporting multi-lateral help to assist India. U. S. loans to India should be increased, and we should make imaginative use of our agricultural surplus for India's needs.

SIR LESLIE MUNRO, PRESIDENT OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY, spoke of the efforts of the U.N. technical assistance program. He stressed the need of an international capital development fund, and indicated general disappointment that world military expenditures are taking funds needed for international economic development.

DR. THEODORE GEIGER, Chief of International Studies, National Planning Association, spoke of the significance of Africa today. He reported that we have been putting about \$20 million per year into Africa, including technical assistance and loans, but it is his opinion that three or four times that amount is needed.

DR. A. J. MEYER, of the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, emphasized the need to facilitate economic development in the Middle East. He showed that the armament burden resulting from the Israel-Arab conflict was diverting funds from necessary investment. He noted the significance of Soviet plans to aid development in Syria and Egypt, and suggested that there were some prospects of "mutual disenchantment." U.S. effort to help economic development in the Middle East involves risk and difficult choices, but American influence could gain if enough economic assistance were made available at the right time.

DR. LEON H. KEYSERLING, former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, pointed out a danger in all of the "unity" that appeared at the conferences during the two days. It was his opinion that a much greater effort was needed to win peace. He said that 5 to 10 billion dollars per year were needed from the U.S. for international development, but instead we have to make a tremendous effort for even one billion dollars because we have fallen down in getting these problems understood by the people in the United States.

THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS was emphasized by Dr. Francis J. Brown, Matt H. Thomson, Jerry Voorhis, and Dwayne Orton: Each of us through our voluntary organizations can find ways of making a definite contribution to the world's needs.

ERIC JOHNSTON said that the most likely threat of aggression now was by economic means and not by military means. "We shouldn't be afraid of the (Communist) economic challenge. ...We should welcome this type of competition."

THE OUTLOOK IN CONGRESS was described by E. Raymond Wilson as being bleak on aid, trade and disarmament. Most people in favor of such things fail to express support to Congress. A Minnesota Congressman complained that he was not receiving any mail from the churches and other groups in favor of economic aid legislation, but was hearing only from the opponents. Congresswoman Edith Green told a group that if five people from every church and synagogue in the United States were to write in demanding a more enlightened foreign policy, they could change the whole climate in Washington.

VICTOR G. REUTHER, Director of the United Auto Workers' Washington Office, said, "For eight years we have urged a massive program of international economic cooperation--a positive peace offensive...which would do for the economically under-developed countries of the world what the Marshall Plan did for Europe. We have urged that the U.S. can and should afford to contribute up to 2 percent of our gross national product to such a peace offensive, against poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease and insecurity." He said the American Trade Union Movement has long advocated the Special U.N. Fund for Economic Development--SUNFED. He regretted that the U.S. has not been willing to support this effort which has had the support of a large majority of the U.N. member nations. In referring to the present American efforts he said, "the scope and amounts seemed too little and expose us and the other nations of the Free World to the danger of being too late."

Mr. Reuther advocated training at least 100,000 of our most promising youth to help assure the success of a vital program, and suggested that this could be arranged in lieu of military service by enlisting for a period of one year longer than required for military service in an Enlistment for Peace. "The more young Americans we could make available throughout the world as technical missionaries...the fewer young Americans we will need...on the battlefields of the world."

A SUMMARY OF TRENDS IN THE CONFERENCE was made by David C. Williams:

1. "It's the people who count." No matter who or where they are, they will influence the future, and we should take them into consideration in our program plans.
2. The complex, long-term nature of world development is now becoming recognized.
3. Moral ideals and sober thoughts must be turned into reality by money. The present program is a minimum one.
4. The people of the U.S. need to know facts more clearly if they are to be a force for a more adequate program.
5. There is more emphasis now to separate economic and military aid.
6. It is agreed that more of the program should be through multilateral channels.
7. SPUR through the U.N. General Assembly is a first step, like the first stage in a rocket. Today we need a second stage for world economic development to circle the world for decades to come.

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